

Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 01824 080459Z

12

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01

/060 W

----- 109586

R 061501Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9619

INFO AMEMASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

RUEHMOLXAMCONSUL LENINGRAD 5268

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MOSCOW 1824

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR

SUBJECT: TREATMENT OF BREZHNEV AND OF FOREIGN POLICY AT REPUBLIC
PARTY CONGRESS

1. SUMMARY. JUDGING FROM ACCOLADES PAID BREZHNEV AT THE TEN
REPUBLIC PARTY CONGRESSES NOW CONCLUDED, THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S
POLITICAL STANDING IS HIGH IN THE PROVINCES. REVIEW OF
NINE REPORTS OF REPUBLIC FIRST SECRETARIES (THE LITHUANIAN
PAPER CONTAINING THE FIRST SECRETARY'S REPORT WAS NOT DELIVERED
TO THE EMBASSY) AND THE LETTERS SENT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
BY EACH CONGRESS SHOWS SOME VARIATION IN REFERENCES TO BREZHNEV.
IN SOME CASES THIS MAY REFLECT A FORM OF COMPETITION FOR
BREZHNEV'S FAVOR IN SEEKING HIGHER OFFICE; IN OTHERS IT MAY
SIGNIFY DIFFERENCES IN PERSONAL REGARD FOR, OR PERSONAL STANDING
WITH LEONID ILLICH.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 01824 080459Z

THE OVERALL IMPRESSION IS THAT THE REPUBLIC FIRST SECRETARIES EXPECT HIS CONTINUATION IN OFFICE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

2. THE PARTY CONGRESSES DEVOTE RELATIVELY LITTLE ATTENTION TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS: EIGHT OF NINE FIRST SECRETARIES (DEMIRCHYAN OF ARMENIA IS THE EXCEPTION) REFER TO BREZHNEV'S IMPORTANT ROLE IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY; THE PEACE PROGRAM, CSCE, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION ARE SOMETIMES MENTIONED. NOTHING IN THESE MATERIALS SIGNALS ALTERATION OF THE PREVAILING FOREIGN POLICY LINE. END SUMMARY.

3. IN OVERVIEW, EACH OF THE TEN REPUBLIC CONGRESSES IN "ELECTING" ITS HONORARY PRESIDUM USES THE FORMULATION THE POLITBURO OR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE "HEADED BY" L.I. BREZHNEV. EXCEPT FOR LATVIA, THEY ALSO ADDRESS THEIR REPORTING LETTERS (ON THE RESULTS OF THE CONGRESS) TO GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV AS WELL AS TO THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE TEXTS OF THREE OF THESE LETTERS (ARMENIA, TURKMENISTAN AND LITHUANIA) CONTAIN THE "HEADED BY" FORMULATION. FOUR OTHER LETTERS (GEORGIA, AZERBAIDZHAN, KIRGIZIA, AND TADZHIKISTAN) CONTAIN NUMEROUS FLATTERING REFERENCES TO "DEAR LEONID ILICH." PERSONAL REFERENCE TO BREZHNEV IS MINIMAL IN THE MOLDAVIAN, LATVIAN AND ESTONIAN LETTERS, WHICH ALSO OMIT THE "HEADED BY" PHRASE.

4. IN COMPARING REFERENCES TO BREZHNEV IN THE SPEECHES OF NINE REPUBLIC FIRST SECRETARIES, WE FIND NUMEROUS ACCOLADES BUT NO CONSISTENT PATTERN OF PRAISE. GEORGIAN FIRST SECRETARY SHEVARDNADZE AND AZERBAIDZHANI FIRST SECRETARY ALIYEV WERE PARTICULARLY EFFUSIVE. BOTH MENTION BREZHNEV'S ATTENTION TO AFFAIRS IN THEIR REPUBLIC AND HEAP PERSONAL PRAISE ON HIM. SHEVARDNADZE SAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WITH BREZHNEV WE FIND THE BEST QUALITIES OF THE LENINIST TYPE, WHILE ALIYEV CALLS HIM THE ACKNOWLEDGED LEADER OF OUR PARTY AND THE TRUE SUCCESSOR TO THE CAUSE OF THE GREAT LENIN. COMMENT: SINCE FROM 1957-1972 FORMER GEORGIAN PARTY BOSS MZHAVANADZE WAS A CANDIDATE FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 01824 080459Z

DATE MEMBER OF THE CPSU POLITBURO, SHEVARDNADZE AND ALIYEV MAY HAVE PRAISED BREZHNEV IN HOPES OF GAINING AN EVENTUAL APPOINTMENT TO THE POLITBURO AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CAUCASUS REGION. END COMMENT.

5. THE FIRST SECRETARIES' SPEECHES AND THE CONGRESS REPORTING LETTERS IN ESTONIA, LATVIA, ARMENIA, TURKMENISTAN AND MOLDAVIA ARE UNEVEN REGARDING BREZHNEV. WHILE

ESTONIAN FIRST SECRETARY KEBIN DESCRIBES HIM AS THE OUTSTANDING FIGURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT, THE ESTONIAN LETTER DOES NOT SINGLE BREZHNEV OUT FOR PERSONAL PRAISE. COMPARISON OF THE MOLDAVIAN FIRST SECRETARY BOGDUL'S SPEECH WITH THE MOLDAVIAN CONGRESS LETTER SHOWS THE SAME PATTERN.

6. THE SITUATION IS REVERSED IN LATVIA AND ARMENIA, WHERE THE LETTERS ARE FAR MORE LAUDATORY OF BREZHNEV THAN ARE THE RESPECTIVE FIRST SECRETARIES. BREZHNEV RECEIVED COMPARATIVELY LITTLE PRAISE ACROSS-THE-BOARD ONLY IN TURKMENISTAN.

7. WE FOUND REFERENCES TO CENTRAL LEADERS OTHER THAN BREZHNEV ONLY IN THE SPEECHES OF THE GEORGIAN AND TURKMEN FIRST SECRETARIES, WHO BOTH MENTION KIRILENKO'S EARLIER VISIT TO THEIR RESPECTIVE REPUBLICS.

8. DISCUSSION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE SPEECHES OF THE FIRST SECRETARIES AS A RULE TAKES ONLY TWO OR THREE PARAGRAPHS IN MORE THAN THREE FULL NEWSPAPER PAGES OF FINE PRINT. SINCE NONE OF THESE FIRST SECRETARIES HAS FULL OR CANDIDATE STATUS ON THE POLITBURO, THEY DO NOT, OF COURSE, HAVE CLOSE CONTACT WITH FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION. MOREOVER, THEIR REPUBLIC RESPONSIBILITIES INVOLVE LITTLE CONCERN FOR FOREIGN POLICY.

9. ALL LEADERS GENERALLY APPROVE THE FOREIGN POLICY LINE AND CONTEND IT HAS RAISED THE AUTHORITY OF THE USSR IN THE WORLD ARENA. ONLY SHEVARDNADZE FAILS TO MENTION THE PEACE PROGRAM, AND ONLY DEMIRCHYAN DOES NOT ASSOCIATE BREZHNEV PERSONALLY WITH SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. THREE OTHER FIRST SECRETARIES (GAPUROV, VOSS, AND ALIYEV) MENTION CSCE, WITH ALIYEV DESCRIBING IT AS AN UNPRECEDENTED TRIUMPH OF THE PEACE PROGRAM. A NUMBER OF FIRST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 01824 080459Z

SECRETARIES ALSO REFER TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION.

10. COMMENT. PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING QUESTION ARISING FROM THESE DATA IS WHY THE LATVIAN, ARMENIAN, AND TURKMEN FIRST SECRETARIES WERE COMPARATIVELY RESTRAINED IN REFERRING TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY. IN PARTICULAR, NONE USED THE PHRASE "HEADED BY" TO LINK BREZHNEV WITH THE POLITBURO OR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. ALTHOUGH WE DOUBT THIS IS MERELY FORTUITOUS, WE SEE NO READILY APPARENT EXPLANATION FOR IT. IT MAY BE THAT VOSS (AZERBAIDZHAN), DEMIRCHYAN (ARMENIA) AND GAPUROV (TURKMENISTAN) WANT TO MAINTAIN A DEGREE OF PERSONAL DISTANCE FROM BREZHNEV AND THAT THESE PARTICULAR FIRST SECRETARIES DO NOT THINK THEIR POLITICAL FORTUNES ARE CLOSELY DEPENDENT UPON

IDENTIFICATION WITH BREZHNEV. NONETHELESS, THE OVERALL IMPRESSION
IS CLEARLY ONE OF CONTINUITY, STABILITY, AND BREZHNEV'S
CONTINUATION IN OFFICE. STOESSEL

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY MEETINGS, COMMUNISTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW01824
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760048-0163
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760274/aaaacnia.tel
Line Count: 172
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <01 JUN 2004 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TREATMENT OF BREZHNEV AND OF FOREIGN POLICY AT REPUBLIC PARTY CONGRESS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, (BREZHNEV, LEONID I)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006